

/75/

Introduction

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 [114] It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Čipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Posnansky, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Cuaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. 114 The excellent monograph of Dr. Rivet (1) and Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 3]

- 113 1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.), "La langue uru ou pukina /The Uru or Pukina Language/, " Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series, Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-244; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-199; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 57-116. To the texts assembled in this article the following must be added:
- 113 105 McCutchen McBride (G.), "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia," American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 5, New York, 1921, p. 17.
- "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

/75 cont. /

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Lake Titicaca. Subsisting chiefly by hunting and fishing, they ply their reed boats (balsas) among the wide-extended swamps that here border the river. Their houses are of rude construction, being built of mud and thatched with straw or totora, the bulrush from which their boats are made. They appear to be among the oldest occupants of the plateau.... They enter any discussion of land tenure only in a negative sense, as they are almost entirely landless. They practice little if any agriculture, though some of them now own small herds of cattle and llamas. They form the rare example of a highland Indian tribe which is not markedly attached to the soil, in contrast to the agricultural people that surround them." /Cited in English. /

Ogilvie (Alan G.), Geography of the Central Andes. A Handbook to accompany the La Paz Sheet of the Map of Hispanic America on the Million Scale. (Published by the American Geographical Society of New York, 1922). Beneath a photograph presenting an Uro woman crushing some quinua (Fig. 30), these lines appear: "Uru Indian woman grinding quinoa in a sheepskin. The house is of mud with a thatch of reeds secured by grass ropes to pegs in the walls. The sack contains llama dung for fuel. The water jar is made of clay dug from a bank near by." /Cited in English. /

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After these lines had been written, Mr. A. Posnansky published a study on the

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Uro entitled: "Los Urus o Uchumi /The Uru or Uchumi/, " Actas y trabajos científicos del XXV^o Congreso internacional de Americanistas (La Plata, 1932), Vol. I, Buenos Aires, 1934, pp. 234-300. This work, very extensive, contains only a small amount of really scientific information on the Uro. It is more an attempt to bring some ethnographic theories into harmony with somewhat romantic archaeological reconstructions. One of the most serious dangers of this article is that it contains some precise details—notably on fishing among the Uro—which are mixed with interpretations and speculations which the author presents as facts noted in the field. Everything in this article concerning the present religion of the Uro is in the realm of fantasy.

In 1933 my friend Mr. E. Palavecino, of the Museum of Natural History in Buenos Aires, made a visit to the Uro on my advice. Some of his observations have been published in the Sunday, December 3, 1933 number of La Prensa under the following title: "Los Indios Urus de Iruito /The Uru Indians of Iruito/."

114 Montfort itself, in which all the importance /76/ of the Uro problem is underlined, was not a sufficient factor to stimulate the scholars who during recent years have traversed Bolivia to give the Uro the attention they deserve. Such negligence is even more unpardonable in view of the fact that the geographical location

114 /76 cont. /

of the natives cannot be an excuse. There are few in America more easily accessible; the Uro are actually only a few hours by car from La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Material Culture

114 The brevity of my stay among the Uro and the small amount of leisure which I had outside of my linguistic investigations prevented me from making any important ethnographic observations on them. I also doubt that deeper inquiries would have been able to lead me to the discovery of sensational, or even /77/ new, facts. The Uro have been "Aymarized" to a much higher degree than the Čipaya, and to this Aymara influence, doubtless a thousand years old, must be added that of the Spanish and of the Bolivian half-breeds. The village of Ancoaqui resembles, down to the last details, all the villages of the altiplano, and the Uro are not distinguishable, either in physical appearance or in dress, from the Aymara, their neighbors. If I consider the few notes I took as worth publishing, it is because of the small amount of information that we possess on these Indians. I shall repeat again, perhaps in vain, the wish that a serious and well-trained ethnographer will want to devote several months of his /Fig. 21 appears here/ life to the study of the natives of the high plateau. If this is not done soon, our only remaining opportunity to know the great South American civilizations better will have disappeared.

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[341] Dwellings. The village of Ancoaqui is made up of small square huts of "adobe," grouped around a quadrangular courtyard. I remember two houses with rounded corners, although this circumstance was not sufficiently accentuated to permit classifying them as huts of a round design (Pl. II, A /see p. 22/). The roofs of these habitations have only one real style: they are made of matting attached to staves which are also of tatora, i.e., matting rolled up and solidly sewn together, replacing beams, which are rare and costly

323 /78 cont. /
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potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

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1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

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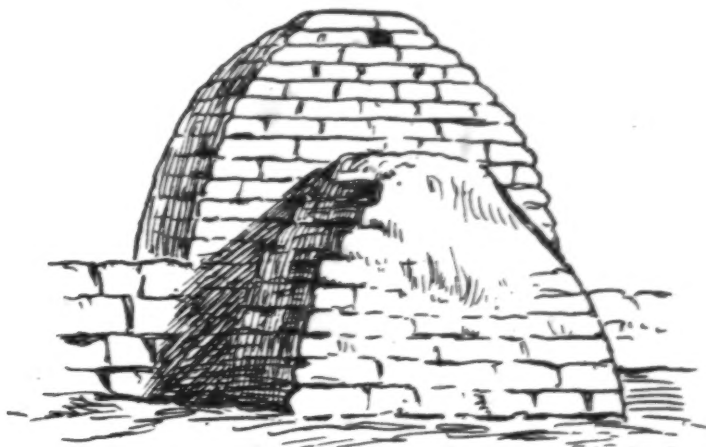


Fig. 22

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 [126]

note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Ancoaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

4/2 The mortars, or more exactly the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

189 cont.

155 158 crueller successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their hus for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

197 177 Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Chipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Chipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Chipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

Carangas -
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

[12] In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations
 [101] that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion,
 [114] and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among
 whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the
 Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had
 [123] singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the
 very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and
 luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya,
 convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my
 distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/

[124] to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an
 Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and
 who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a
 member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/
 as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting in-
 quiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me.
 Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover
 the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered.
 [191] Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very
 little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most
 gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have
 had pitiful informants in them.

[121] A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly,
 I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they
 had celebrated before me practically the entire cycle of their
 main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would
 [183] have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case
 very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, un-
 fold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual
 religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these
 [198] Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not
 forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on p. 5]

/114 conf. /

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V. Huot, after the work of members of the mission, original unpublished sources, and the most recent documents, on a scale of 1/750,000; Mapa de la red de caminos del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Map of the network of roads in Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1924); Mapa telegráfico y de vialidad del departamento de Oruro, confeccionado por el Ingeniero Sr. Nestor Crespo Diaz /Telegraphic map and map of accessibility of Oruro Department, prepared by the engineer, Señor Nestor Crespo Diaz/ (1930).

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The village of Chipaya properly so called is located about 30 kilometers north of the Coipasa salt marshes and about 20 kilometers from Cerro Camacha, the first spur of the Cordillera to the west. To the east Chipaya is separated by more than 100 kilometers from the marshy banks of the Poopó. The village does not stand on the banks of the Barras River or the Chipaya as shown on the map of the Créqui-Montfort Mission, the best that we have for the Bolivian Altiplano. The Lauca River, which flows to the west, is 10 to 12 kilometers away from it. Since all the maps that I have seen show the Barras River flowing between the Lauca and the village of Chipaya, I undertook several trips from different sides to verify this. Northeast of Chipaya, about seven kilometers away, I found the bed of a dried-up river, which perhaps corresponds to the course of the Barras River as it is drawn on some maps. This river must have taken another direction today, for having crossed it at the same time at the height of the village of Kala, a two-days' trip to the north, I was able to ascertain that it was passably filled with water.

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Carangas-
Chipaya

/114 cont./

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
36 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and
19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
36 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
199 help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes
itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara,
which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-
east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
131 which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my
observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
184 distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches
Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco,
on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
36 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at
roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320
Chipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than
the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain
number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses."
Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[13]

1. Bacarezza (Zenón), "Fragmento del informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno por el señor... comisionado del Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura para el estudio físico y estadístico de la Provincia de Carangas del Departamento de Oruro /Part of the report presented to the Supreme Government by Señor... commissioned by the Ministry of Colonization and Agriculture for a statistical

Carangas-
Chipaya

/115 cont./

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and physical study of Carangas Province in Oruro Department/. " Boletín de la Oficina Nacional de estadística, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 3rd trimester 1910, La Paz, 1910, pp. 477-480. Buck ("Ein wenig bekannter Indianerstamm des bolivianischen Hochlandes /A little-known Indian tribe of the Bolivian Altiplano/. " p. 55) estimates the population of Chipaya at 800 individuals in 1929! This figure is, of course, the greatest fantasy.

161 government in 1910, estimates the population of Chipaya at 385
[14] individuals in 77 families. Although the first of these two figures seems a little exaggerated to me, the second appears exact. It [65] may even be considered official as it was drawn from the number of "comuneros," i.e. the heads of families paying an annual tribute of 3 bolivianos (the Chipaya told me 2.40 bolivianos). According to my own census there would be about 100 households in Chipaya. As I do not know the principle which guided the authorities in their division of fiscal charges, I cannot decide how exact either of these last two figures is. Uhle, who was the first scholar to mention the existence of the Chipaya, estimated their

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2. Uhle (Max), "Ueber seine Reisen in Bolivia /On His Trips in Bolivia/," Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Brdkunde zu Berlin, Vol. XXI, 1894, pp. 328-332.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/115 cont. /

161
[114] number at 500 individuals in 1894. As this archaeologist did not go to the effilage of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Carangas desert, was ever more numerous.

162
[115] The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants (58 at Warta ayl'u and 111 at Tuana properly so called), and

[116] Taxata 151. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 350 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ay'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Taxata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (87 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "noiety" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Chipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

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1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Chipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

[609]

/180 cont. /

Musical Instruments

534
114 The musical instruments that I got among the Chipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

- [113] 1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Chipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

[117] Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [120] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

[126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Chipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/186 cont. /

534

Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

[14]

One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syringes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This

● [14]

hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of reinforcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

[17]

The syringes which I have just described are apparently very old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

[17]

Carangas-
Chipaya
Mantta SD10
Peruvian Indians SE3
Modern Quechua SE24

U /193 cont. /

*171 way as to form a wall 1.40 to 1.80 meters high, circular in form,
M confining a space with a three to six meter diameter inside. On this
342 wall 60 to 80 cm. thick a thatched roof rests, shaped into a more or
less pointed cone. A small door 60 cm. wide and 80 cm. to 1.20
meters high allows one, stooping, to enter the hut.

*171 The round hut seems formerly to have alternated with that of
P a quadrangular pattern in northern Peru. I am reproducing a passage
342 from Olson's article (3), which lets us understand that the method

P
[113]

3. Olson (Ronald L.), "Old empires
of the Andes," Natural History,
New York, Vol. XXXI, 1931,
No. 1, pp. 10-11.

P of constructing these habitations was not very different from that
[341] which I described for Chipaya: "Certain villages are composed en-
tirely of circular stone structures some ten to thirty feet in diameter
with stone roofs of a corbelled dome type. Other villages show both
round and square houses with similarly domed roofs. Since a domed
stone roof is more in keeping with a circular than a square house, we
may assume the former to be the earlier type." /Cited in English. /

*171 M Mr. Otto Braun in a letter to Baron E. Nordenskiöld (3-VII-
342 /194/ 1931) remarks that "although the huts of the Quichua of south-
eastern Bolivia have a square design, their barns or their granaries
are always round in form."

*171 U For distribution of the round hut in South America I refer the
342 reader to Nordenskiöld's map (1), while making the observation that
114

1. The Ethnography of South
America seen from Mojos in Bolivia,
Chapter 1.

it is incomplete.

Carangas-
Chipaya
Ayumra SES

/194 cont. /

U
*171
A
342

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the ~~casiques~~ and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish. /

U
*171
[113]
[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U
571
621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayi'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
*171
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Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

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*171
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[30]
[198]

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[264]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

Carangas-
Chipaya

f202 cont. /

*171 Tools. I found near the Corque chullpas a stone hammer
412 exactly like that which the Chipaya use to crush straw for making
rope. The Uro of Ancosqui use for the same purpose a stone hammer
*171 which they fasten to a handle with raw leather. This instrument
●114 has a North American look, which struck Professor Nordenskiöld;
412 he considered it a new culture trait which should be added to the
list of those which were common to these two parts of the New World.
In this respect I do not share my teacher's opinion: I consider the
handle of the Uro hammers a recent innovation introduced under
the influence of the European hammer. My opinion is based on a
very interesting passage from Cobo (2), who relates that the Aymara

2. Historia del nuevo mundo,
Vol. I. p. 251.

Indians employed by the Spanish in the quarries proved entirely in-
capable of using a hammer with a handle and preferred to return to
the simple, round stones which they held in the palm of the hand.
It is thus unlikely that the Uro, with a civilization so close to that
of the Aymara, would have diverged on this point. In addition, if
this culture trait had been really old, I would certainly have found
one or two specimens among the Chipaya, who have remained much
more primitive than their racial brothers, the Uro of the Desaguadero.

*171 The ethnography of the Chipaya perhaps explains the original
415 function of the "circular mortars," so many specimens of which have
[532] been found in the Peruvian Sierra (3). These are stone basins with

(113)

3. On the distribution of these
basins cf. Rivet (Paul) and
Verneau (René), Ethnographie
ancienne de l'Équateur /Ancient
ethnography of the Equator/,
Paris, 1912, p. 185, Pl. 9,
Nos. 1, 2, 4, and Lehman (Walter)

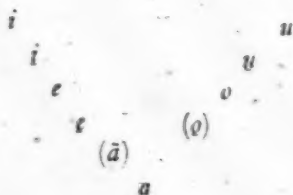
Carangas-
Chipaya

/340 cont./

Phonetics

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194 It is my duty to acknowledge at the head of this dictionary that for lack of a musical ear, I am not always sure of the accuracy of my phonetic transcriptions. I have done my best and I am convinced that on the whole my notations are correct. I fear, however, that I have created some confusion in the quality of the vowels, and it is probable that certain fine points or shadings of pronunciation have escaped me. The difficulties I experienced in gathering and reproducing Čipaya and Uro sounds made me neglect the question of accent. I insist on pointing out this serious gap myself in my linguistic documentation.

194 The vowels which I believe to have recognized in Čipaya can be classified in the following manner:



a, e, i, o, u are "grosso modo" identical to the corresponding sounds in Spanish

i is a phoneme whose quality is midway between a very open i and a closed e

e is a more open e than the French è in "père ". It is almost a very closed front a.

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194

[28]

[14]

I think that I have ascertained in some cases the existence of an o (g) whose articulation would be close to a guttural (back) a.

Not being sure of this sound, and having ascertained it only in a few very rare cases, I have not indicated it in my transcriptions.

u is a phoneme midway between an open u and a closed o.

The diphthongs are the following: ay, ey, ua, (wa), ue (we).

The sign [^] put under the first or second vowel indicates that the latter is asyllabic and is only a semivowel. When the second part of the diphthong precedes another vowel, it is replaced by the corresponding fricative.

Table of Consonants

	Occlusives		Affricates		Con- stringents		Liquids	
Aspirated	<i>b</i>							
Guttural (medio gut.)	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>x</i>			
Palatal			<i>tʃ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>ʝ</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>ñ</i>
Dental	<i>t</i> (<i>tʰ</i>)		<i>ts</i>		<i>s</i>	(<i>z</i>)	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>
Labial	<i>p</i> (<i>pʰ</i>)					<i>w</i>		

The sound transcribed by h is strongly aspirated; it tends toward x.

g, k, l, m, n, ñ, l, p, r, s, t are identical with the corresponding sounds in Spanish or French.

ç = "ch" in Spanish.

ʃ = "ch" in French.

ʝ = French "j" in "jeter."

/146 cont./

[16] According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to
[162] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level
[133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

101 I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow
121 me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/

Note I

Accounts and Conversations

• 114 The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/147 cont. /

- 114 this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist.

- 195 There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

- 126 During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

- 128 The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

- 115 Two informants were utilized in the course of our long
[195] linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke
[191] Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/148 cont./

115
191 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the neighboring populations.

• 114
191 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more," was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only [197] ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this language, which gives a false impression of the group as a whole.

114
197 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru Indians of the Desaguadero/," Boletim do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name, but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our investigation judging from the events at which he had been [149] present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilometers, in two days in order to save the price of his passage by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/173 cont./

- * 539 14. We are going to place a rim of totoras. 15. He attaches
[396] the rim of the balsa. 16. He tightens the rim of the balsa.
17. We are going to finish. 18. (The totora) is still a bit
loose; we are going to tighten it a bit more. 19. All is
finished. 20. Now the balsa is ready. 21. Let us go fishing
[501] with the new balsa. 22. We are not going to hoist a sail?
23. We are not accustomed to use a sail; there is too little
water. 24. We always use a boat hook manipulated by hand.
[226] 25. Here is the stone which is attached to the large net so that
the fish can enter. 26. The fish is going to enter (the net);
now we are going to lift (the net) up and put it in the balsa.

Remarks

This text is divided into two parts. The first, 1 to 20, describes the making of balsas from totoras. The second is a succinct description of fishing with a net in the swamps of the Desaguadero.

- * 539 To build their balsas the Uru use the Scirpus totora,
[396] which used to grow in abundance in the swamps of the
[824] Desaguadero and at numerous points on the shores of Lake
Titicaca. Two Indians work at the same time on the con-
struction of a balsa. First they lay out the bunches of totoras
[114] on the ground, from which they make three spindles the length
of the balsa, two large side ones and a middle one which is
shorter and thinner; this middle cylinder, the "heart of the
balsa," used to stabilize the craft, has passed unnoticed by
practically all the authors who have concerned themselves
[171] with the Uru. Only the fishers on the lagoon of Arapa, to the
north of Lake Titicaca, who speak Kešwa, build balsas, small
and rather narrow, formed with two cylinders.
[284] The totora of three cylinders is held in place with the
aid of thin straw plaits (2-4), which hold the cylinders evenly
between them. These straw ropes are tightened in a progressive
and methodical fashion by two /174/ men, working alternately

/185/

- *539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkíčay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix č followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants:
Carlos Kiske and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [276] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [273] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking). [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/191/

Note II

Anthropology

114
141 When we examined the anthropological bibliography at our disposal, we found only a very small number of works on the Uru and the closely related Chipaya: publications by Imbelloni and Posnansky and a note by Wright on dental anomalies. No important work should have escaped our notice.

Imbelloni made a very complete study of two skulls from the island of Panza (Poopo Lake, 300 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, fed by the Desaguadero), classifying them in the Laguido-Melanesien group.

Posnansky has made a very summary study (only a few cephalic measurements) of six men of Iru-Itu. He completed this series by examining nine Chipayas, men, only seven of whom would be pure-blooded; the other two, brachycephalic and mesaticephalic, are considered "Kollas," i.e., half-breeds of Andean elements. On the island of Panza, Posnansky studied two skulls and measured the cephalic index of six living people, four men and two women, only one of whom is called "pure Uru." These results are compared with those furnished by a small series of Chango skulls coming from the Arica excavations. It is necessary, of course, to make reservations about Posnansky's very personal nomenclature and the very special meaning which he gives to Arawak and Kolla terms.

It was not possible for us to consult Wright's work, which seems to deal with a very different aspect from that which interests us.

Imbelloni and Posnansky agree on the very marked dolichocephalism of the Uru and their relatives, the Chipaya. The conclusions which issue from a comparative study /192/ of their works are much less clear in connection with the vertical index of the skull and the height of the face.

/192 cont. /

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:
--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.
--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.
--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/204 cont. /

141

Stature and limbs:

The small series studied appears very heterogeneous in stature. The men range from small to large in stature, with a predominance of small and medium; two women are medium and one above medium.

Men. — Short: x to 159.9: 3 men.

Below medium height: 160 to 163.9: —

/205/ Medium height: 164 to 166.9: 2 men.

Above medium height: 167 to 169.9: —

Tall: 170 to 179.9: 1 man.

Women. — Medium height: 153 to 155.9: 2 women.

Above medium height: 156 to 158.9: 1 woman.

[14]

These figures compare with the small series of four Uru measured by Posnansky, which is the sole information, to our knowledge, published up to now on this group; this series notes 1 short, 1 medium, 1 above medium, and 1 tall man.

Among the Chipaya, related to the Uru, Posnansky's figures for a series of nine men note six short, two below medium, and one above medium.

These three series: our six Uru men and three Uru women; Posnansky's four Uru men and nine Chipaya men are distributed in the following fashion:

Short: 10 men.

Below medium height: 2 men.

Medium height: 3 men, 2 women.

Above medium height: 2 men, 1 woman.

Tall: 2 men.

Of these 22 individuals, 45.45% are short; 31.72% are below medium and medium; 13.63% are above medium; only 9.0% are tall.

The three series agree with each other, which emphasizes the frequency of short and medium heights among the Uru and their relatives the Chipaya.

The cormic index furnishes more homogeneous results. Of the first five men, three are macroskelic and two meroskelic.

/207 cont. /

143

Kline: ++

[164]

We shall only conclude from this isolated observation of the group, who always severely condemned sexual relations with other natives as being against the traditions.

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These few isolated examinations have no great significance; they do emphasize however the interest which a numerous series of hematological and serological investigations among the isolated native groups of the Cordillera or the South American forests would have.

Conclusion

141

[128]

In spite of the small number of subjects examined (9), owing to the rapid decline of the group and its approaching extinction, this study of the last Uru of Iru-Itu permits us to make a few interesting conclusions.

[171]

Height varies little from that of the neighboring Andean populations, and small and medium stature predominate. The population is as a whole macroskelic.

The cephalic index among the men who can be considered as not crossbred with the neighboring populations is lower than 75.0% (average: 73.51). Three women are moderately brachycephalic; we must note that they are closely related.

Dolichocephaly, a tendency to leptocephalia and to leptoprosopy, the bigoniac diameter almost equal to the minimum frontal diameter, leptorrhinism, a high and narrow ear succeed in characterizing this group.

● 114

141

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As a whole these results agree with the few previous observations on the Uru and the Chipaya (Imbelloni's two Uru skulls; a few measurements by Posnansky), emphasizing the morphological unity of these two groups.

[16th Century]

/33 cont. /

195 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid
them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their
livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the
Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return
them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to
threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their
old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[262] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what
is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who
live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so
many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I
have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the
area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable:
they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform
a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and
giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings
defy description. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en
cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the
Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima,
1568/.

- [114] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in
Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed
by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

BOLIVIA
VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corralled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.¹ The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

¹ *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characteristic of that group are to be found. 144

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara beliefs and rites, has been preserved in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally 148



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Group of Chipaya Indians.—Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church. 141

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation 148

[English text continues on p. 219.] 145

of this gallant village which should be preserved because of its anthropological value and, above all, for its human value: 647
423
119

1.—Return of the extensions of pasture land of which the villagers were deprived by the neighboring Aymara communities.

2.—Periodic visits of medical and sanitary personnel in order to care for the minimal necessities of vaccination, care of the sick and preventative services. 522

3.—Teaching material to aid in operation of the school.

4.—Agricultural tools and basic training in improved practices of agriculture and animal husbandry.

5.—Realization of a scientific study comparable to that done by Métraux thirty years ago, to be extended to the neighboring Aymara communities in order to determine the degree of influence which one town has had upon the other. Likewise, a detailed study of the remaining branches of ethnography and folklore of the Chipayas.

6.—A plan of archeological excavations on the site called Los Chapel five kilometers to the north-west of the town of Santa Ana de Chipaya, which appears to be the ancient residence of the Chipaya people, according to their own account, during the period in which they were still *chullpas*. 173

7.—The establishment of contact, for study purposes, with the Morato Indian group, apparently a sub-group of the Chipaya tribe, which at the present time, in reduced numbers, carries on a nomadic life in the territory to the south-west of the Chipaya and whose members speak a distinct language". 101

(From *Educación Boliviana*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 31-33).

[p. 219]

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Cover

Valdivia, Chile, street after the earthquake (see page 3)

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MEMO FROM THE EDITORS

• While the tragic story of the earthquake and tidal wave damage in Chile moved the world to offer immediate relief, the country began to plan a long-range program of reconstruction and rehabilitation. A comprehensive report on what's happening on this score is presented in "To Rebuild Chile," by AMÉRICA's editor George C. Compton, on page 3.

• "Land for the Farmer" (page 9), by João Gonçalves de Souza, Director of the OAS Program of Technical Cooperation, points up the conditions in Latin America that make agrarian reform urgent, and gives an up-to-date summary of what has been done in this regard. Dr. Gonçalves de Souza, who is also Director of the Pan American Union Department of Technical Cooperation, is an expert in problems of land tenure and has written several studies on the subject, dealing especially with his native Brazil.

• In "Latin America's 'Rising Expectations'" (page 26), we print excerpts from a speech by OAS Secretary General Dr. José A. Mora. His remarks about economic development needs are especially timely as the date for the Bogotá meeting of the Committee of Twenty-one on economic cooperation draws near.

• The very old and very new appear side-by-side in this issue. "Here the Past Lives On," (page 19) by Rubén Ruiz Camacho, describes the life and customs of the Bolivian Chipaya Indians, who are living much as their ancestors did 450 years ago. The author, a Colombian journalist, has written many articles for Colombian and Bolivian papers and magazines. He is presently working as an audio-visual specialist in the Colombian Ministry of Agriculture.

By contrast, this article is preceded by a brief commentary on the progress of "Fabulous São Paulo," written by AMÉRICA's associate editor George Meek.

• Manuel Cirerol Sansores, an archaeologist who is a native of Yucatán, México, offers his original version of the celebrated Maya legend of "The Dwarf King of Uxmal," on page 23. The author has written several books and articles on Maya themes.

• Matilde de Ortega, noted Ecuadorian writer and critic who is now with the Editorial Division of the Pan American Union, interviewed Brazilian artist Marcelo Grassmann, one of whose works is shown on the page opposite.

• Free-lance writer Reese Wolfe was born and raised in San Francisco and lived for two years in Costa Rica. During a recent four-months' trip through South America he met the postman-scientist who is described in "The Postman Who Caught Butterflies" on page 30.

• "Plowshares, Not Swords," (page 34), the story of a vocational school in an unusual setting in Costa Rica, was written by Carmen M. Montes. A Puerto Rican journalist, she is now working for the U. S. International Cooperation Administration in Nicaragua.

[Title Page]

The People of the Lake

BY CYNTHIA FAIN

The Author of this article has just published at Arthaud's in Paris a book with some thirty illustrations, entitled Bolivie¹). Her husband was recently French Ambassador in La Paz for two and a half years, and she was thus enabled to acquire a thorough knowledge of the country. She is a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and a member of the Société Française des Explorateurs and of the Comité du Film Ethnographique du Musée de l'Homme. This article was written following an expedition directed by professor Jehan Vellard to film an Uru village near Lake Titicaca²).

[Footnotes appear on P 303-C - Analyst]

[P. 303-A]

- 101
114 Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
- 174 Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece
- 175
[361]
[179]
[361]
[48]
[51]

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- 181 his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.
- 121 Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14,000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.
- 117 Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

A
 346 We stop for a moment at the village's church which
 [598] is protected, like our temples in the Far East, by a
 guardian god in the form of one of the monoliths
 A
 346 taken from Tiahuanacu. The early paintings in their
 353 charming frames are in bad condition and some
 358 much-needed repairs were proceeding on the roof;
 there is an embossed silver altar as we find them
 even in small villages in the highlands of Bolivia,
 and a rather decayed but well-proportioned gilded
 A
 782 baroque pulpit. As we were about to leave, an Indian
 788 woman entered. She held in one hand her bowler
 hat and in the other a bottle of alcohol. Having made
 a deep genuflection she presented the bottle to a statue
 of the Virgin, crossed herself, kissed her thumb,
 and was gone.

U
 114 We followed the road towards the lake till we came
 489 to a cart-track which seemed to run parallel with the
 Desaguadero river as it flows out of the lake. After
 a short distance the track ended. The professor said:
 "We just go straight ahead keeping the river in
 sight". The ground was strewn with boulders and
 clumps of spiky grass, the two cars heaved and
 rolled; finally we disembarked the photographic material
 and followed on foot, the professor like the
 Pied Piper leading the procession. The cinema material
 represented a considerable weight which at that height
 seemed twice as heavy. For two hours we gasped and
 stumbled along; finally nearing the river we heard a dog
 barking and saw a small adobe house inhabited by a
 U
 [361] raucous bad-tempered woman of uncertain age who sent us
 U
 114 up a little hill, and on the other side there appeared
 a number of small adobe houses. The professor was
 still in full cry, striding ahead heedless of the panting
 group to the rear. But finally realizing that there
 U
 123 is a limit to human endurance, he gave way gracefully,
 624 and we had lunch. The meal being dispatched,
 we approached the village, where Vellard called on
 the mayor, and, accompanied by a number of the
 U
 124 inhabitants, joined us. He explained that we must
 go to the house of the local centenarian, where we
 should film her, her daughter Jesusa and her son-in-law
 of some eighty-odd years.

2 [i.e., the village of Tiahuanacu -- Analyst]

[p. 309-A]

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24 rily to the end of her recital. She stopped quite suddenly and demanded some coca, informing us that the next meeting was scheduled to take place the following morning, when "she hoped to tell us a great many interesting facts".

- 114 By this time the light was going, so we decided that it would be wise to settle the question of our night's quarters. The mayor gallantly offered me his house; [123] fortunately on our way to the meeting we had passed by, and I had seen all that was necessary to confirm me in my decision to sleep in the car. Protesting that alone I could not take up the whole house, I nobly waved my rights in favour of worthier and braver guests. Kenneth, Rojas and Roca, not having sleepingbags, decided that bugs were preferable to frostbite, so fell in with the mayor's offer. It was decided we would use his house as our dining-room; I therefore made my way thither with the supplies.

[354] Night was falling, a cold wind blowing in little sharp gusts across the great empty *puna*, the hut was lit with a lantern that someone had brought. The

[352] five men were sitting huddled in *ponchos* or great-coats on the bed, which was made of a bamboo frame covered with rushes and llama skins. The atmosphere was constrained, as we spread the food on the rough table. I said: "Now we shall go and heat this beef over a fire". They suddenly burst out simultaneously in English, French and Spanish: "There is no fire in the village and there is nothing to make one from". The only combustible in use on the Altiplano is dried llama-dung or *yareta* ⁴⁾. This [342] [337] [334] latter is too expensive for the poverty-stricken Uru, and they have not enough llamas, if any, to provide [517] a sufficient provision of dung.

Sadly and silently we ate our icy food. A bottle of rum brought a certain comfort. As the village had [512] retired for the night at sundown, we decided to retire to our respective quarters.

⁴⁾ Yarema, a fungus which grows just under the earth and is common to all this part of the Altiplano. It is dug up and dried and forms an excellent combustible. It generally replaces coal.

[J. 310-A]

●14 retire to our respective quarters. Before leaving, I arranged the remaining provisions, carefully propping up a thermos containing our precious hot coffee for the morning. I have but few manias, the principal one being to brush my teeth. I therefore hunted for a bottle of water and found it empty. My hygienic preoccupations vastly amused my companions, and someone offered me a bottle of lager. Not wishing to lose face I accepted, declaring that there was no better mouthwash, but feeling secretly rather sick at the idea of a combination of colgate and beer. But on carrying out the experiment, I found out that there *is* no better mouthwash in existence. By now the moon was high and full, and so strong was the light that finding it impossible to sleep I switched on the engine for heat, as in spite of my vicuña-lined sleepingbag, the cold was intense. I read for an hour or so, which gave me such a headache, that I had to take aspirin with the remaining beer. The next morning Abelot and I wound our way down to the river, which was frozen at the edge. We broke the ice, drew some water and washed, much to the surprise of the villagers. Again I brushed my teeth with the last drops of beer before the astonished gaze of the people who had never seen such a strange exhibition.

Arriving at the mayor's, we found the rest of the company singularly unglamorous and, o tragedy, someone had kicked over the thermos of coffee. We ate some apples and biscuits, but our depression melted away in the brilliant sun. The sky was blue as it is only to be seen on the Roof of the World. While the professor went off to take some sound-

433 recordings, we explored the village. There was practically no sign of animal life or cultivation. This
[648] was normal, as the Aymara peasants refuse to allow the Uru, whom they consider as pariahs, to cultivate
[396] the ground. They have a narrow strip of shore on which to build their *balsas*.

346 We returned by the little church. Very occasionally
[93] a priest comes over from Guaqui on the lake. There

[Text Continues on P. 313-A]

[p. 310-B]

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- 126 angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-
 measurements and making notes. We lunched,
 114 giving the remains to the children, who looked so-
 123 somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake,
 252 and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the
 car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure
 enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing
 [51] to the poverty of the village, they have only enough
 fuel to light about one fire every day or every two
 [091] days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets
 which had once been pink, and dusty battered bow-
 ler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of
 [415] bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and re-
 markably dirty, ran into the house and emerged drag-
 114 ging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was
 satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone
 into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

[p. 314-A]

- 114 temptation should not be placed in his way. I drove hurriedly down to the mayor's house and told the others that I personally felt that another twenty-four hours of hunger and thirst, while the professor studied Uru cooking, was an unattractive prospect. One of the boys wanted to go to Guaqui, so we took him as guide. He directed us along quite a respectable track, which we had missed by a few hundred yards. As we passed the rancous lady's abode she hailed us with a volley of oaths. She had kept a stone in readiness, which, her anger impeding her accuracy, fell wide by a long distance. We finally joined the main highway to La Paz and almost immediately went down with a flat tire. Carlos opened the trunk and as he lifted the jack, out toppled the little Primus-stove. We looked at each other, and swiftly and silently, we pushed it back into oblivion.

[p. 314-B]

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *tolora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.¹

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoacqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoacqui*, on the left² bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40'');

¹ The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

² Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *comunidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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361 *Nazacara*, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiñaque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sejapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Uru"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro haciendas of *Chearaque*, *Taguanu*, *Tacacalani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocavi* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguanu* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymará, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.²

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[101] In March 1938⁴ the population of Ancoaqui (*hanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymará *comunidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacate* (head of the *comunidad*,⁵ from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.⁵

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361 This Aymará *comunidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

[103] ² José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Peru y Bolivia* (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, 1901, 10: 445-482), p. 446. D. M. Jimenez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud*, La Paz, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of *Chuchito*." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

● [114] ⁴ As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymará ethnography.

[123]
[128] ⁵ Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "comunidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymará politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Comunidad"—as opposed to the term "*fincas*" (= "*estancia*," "*hacienda*") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.⁶ Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *tolora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *tolora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig. [33]

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm [36]

* The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-balsa in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region. [37]

132 in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

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113 *Lingusitic Identification.* The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.⁷

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *linguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geograficas*

113 ⁷ Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242-248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806-17), pp. 2, 548-550; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Incas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281-338, 1871), p. 305; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

[de Indias, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace. 114
197

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people. [101]

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."⁸ [31]
[74]
[62]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Chipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that: 197

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

⁸ Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223-224. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituel seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39-75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uru: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417-424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357-360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19. 113
[114]

197 2. The Uru-Chipayan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymará, so far as is determinable from the heretofore solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymará and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, seem quite wholly distinct.

● 114 3. There is an as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Raoul de la
197 Grasserie's "Puquina-Uro." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the numeri-
869 cal systems:⁹

English	Quechua	Aymará	Puquina	Uru
One	huc	maya	pesc	či
Two	iscay	paya	so	Bisk
Three	quimsa	kimsa	capa	ček
Four	tahua	pusi	sper	Ba'Bi'
Five	pichka	pesqa	tacpa	ta'snuku
Six	soccta	soxta	chichun	tačćuku
Seven	canchis	paqalqo	stu	Doko
Eight	pusacc	kimsaqalqo	quina	onko
Nine	iscon	latunka	checa	san'Gu
Ten	chunca	tunka	scata	kalo

Polo's numerals for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ore's Puquina (shi; piske; chep; pácpic, páctic; pacnucu; pacchui; tohoco; cohonco; sankau; kalo) than do my recordings, and neither Puquina nor Uru resembles Aymará or Quechua.

114 There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru
197 and Puquina of Brinton, Ehrenreich, Uhle, Hervas, and Adelung-Vater. Métraux, following Rivet and De la Grasserie, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language *bukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymará. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Polo's vocabularies, argued the absolute distinctness of Puquina and Uru, and has followed Eric Boman in stating that they are separate stocks

⁹ Quechua quoted unchanged from Brinton, *American Races*, p. 223; Aymará from my own field notes; Puquina from Geronimo de Ore, *Rituale*, in Brinton *op. cit.*; and Uru from my own *hang'o-hag'e* notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering aims more for phonetic accuracy than phonemic economy. The vocabulary, moreover, embodies the considerable language difficulties of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my interpreter at Ancoaqui) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Métraux, *Les Indiens Uro-Chipaya de Carangas*, (JSAP 27, 1935), pp. 111-128, 325-415; (JSAP 28, 1936), pp. 155-207, 337-394; *idem*, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoaqui* (Bolivia) (JSAP 28) pp. 75-110; *idem*, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67-102. Polo, *op. cit.* in Chamberlain (*American Anthropologist* 12: 417-24, 1910), pp. 412-413.

(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacameñan and Uru, which relationship he finally denies).¹⁰ The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" except the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?¹¹

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Urus*, *Uros*, *Hunos*, and *Ochomazos*, as well as the controversial "Puquinas"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochozumas*, and Brinton *Ochozomas*. Posnansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchumi*, and their language *Uchumitaku*; they also call themselves *Kjotsuni*, but never "Urus" or "Puquinas." Métraux, however, found the Ancoacqui Uru

¹⁰ Métraux (JSAP 27, 1934), p. 89. Eric Boman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907-1908), pp. 67-73. Boman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the Changos, also called "Uros," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yuncan aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists"; so too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastian, *Culturländer des Allen Americas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 93) averred some of them were found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chancu" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Changos" may indeed be Uru. Wislizenus, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312-313, lists and maps a northern "Puquinan" stock and a southern "Uru" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 82) he places "Puquinan" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uros" in northern Chile, apparently following Boman on this point.

¹¹ The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Crequi-Montfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 402-403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chané and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of zoomorphic characters in myths; but he further suggests the possibility that both the Chané and the Chiriguano got their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Andean folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JSAP 26, 1934), pp. 67-102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymará. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof; some of them show Asiatic, Siamese, Shuswap, and Nootka parallels, i.e., the data are pan-Amerind, indeed, proto- and pre-Amerind.

157 sympathetic Bertonio lists the Uru in his vocabulary as "Vn nacion de indios despreciados entre todos . . . y de menos entendimiento," Paredes calls them "brotado . . . despreciables, de poco entendimiento, ásperos y zahereños." The Belgian traveller Walle says of them, "The face is lifeless and without expression; it betrays hardly a sign of intelligence." Posnansky writes:

El Uru no tiene placeres, desconoce ahora el juego. La riza jamás asomó a los labios de su cara inmóvil, sin la menor mímica, tostado por el sol y petrificado por el viento glacial. Hasta sus niños son pusilánimes, apáticos y tristes; acurracados y mudos. . . . Todo el aspecto de los Urus es el de un pueblo amordazado.

Métraux preferred their congeners, the Chipaya, to them as being less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than their neighbors:

The Uru have a character and a genius as sombre as the Aymara. The stranger who comes to visit them receives a cold, even a slightly hostile welcome on their part. To this illwill is added the unhealthy rapacity of the Aymara and the Bolivians, and finally the apathy and heaviness of spirit which renders the *altiplano* Indian so downright hateful. . . . The last thirty Uru of the Desaguadero rival each other in hostility and distrust before even well-intentioned strangers, and it is scarcely pleasant to sojourn among them.

The present writer, however, after months of field-work with the Aymára, found the Uru vastly more sympathetic than the former truculent, hate-filled group; in my original field notes I have accounted the Uru a "cordial and smiling people . . . rather more vivacious and handsome than the Aymára!"¹⁴

175 *History.* Of the history of the Uru almost nothing is known. Their only
[173] tradition is that they have lived in their present home immemorially but
[1728] have been progressively despoiled of their lands by the Aymára. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century states that those on the islands in Lake Titicaca had, against their will, been removed to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and in holes in the ground covered with reeds. Throughout their history the Uru appear to have been a steadily and rapidly disappearing minority group, subject in turn to the Aymára, Inca, and Spanish.

● 14 *Language.* I did not live with the Uru long enough to learn the language
[173] in any sense, or even to control the phonemic system. The utter independ-

¹⁴ J. de Acosta, *Historia de las Indias* (1591), p. 62. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 7, p. 4. Bertonio, *op. cit.* Vol. 2, p. 380. Paul Walle, *Bolivia* (New York, 1914, tr. Bernard Miall). Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 89; (28), p. 207.

ence of this latter, however, is evident to anyone familiar with the Aymará. Inasmuch as the almost unique grammatical sketch of Uru has appeared in a somewhat obscure and inaccessible publication,¹⁵ a summary of the language of this little-known group may be of value to scholars and linguists.

The sounds b, v, d, f, ll, rr and z do not seem to occur in the language of the Uros. The adjective always precedes the noun, and has no mark of gender. The infinitive of the verb has several different terminations, apparently according to the words from which, when secondary, it is derived. Three tenses, present, past, and future, are distinguished by prefixed or suffixed particles, but the material at hand is not sufficient to enable one to settle the whole matter of conjugation, etc. In compound nouns Polo says (p. 480), "the components are arranged in the order which their signification expresses, e.g. *chekere-koche* (shoe), from *chekere* (what is covered), and *kochu* (foot)." The number of Uru words, whose etymology is known is, however, too small to settle this point completely.

The nymetical system of the Uros deserves a few words. There are separate words for 1, 2, 3; then 4, 5, 6, are, respectively, *pácpic*, *paknucu*, *pacchui*, in which a common first element *pac* appears; 7, 8, 9, *tohoco*, *cohonco*, *samaco* (also *sankau*) seem to have a common terminal *-co*; *kalo*, 10, is unrelated to the other numerals; 11, 12, 13, etc., are *kalosi*, *kalo-piske*; *kalo-chep*, etc.; 100 is *kalo-kalo* (also *pac*); and 1000 could be expressed by *kalo-pac*.

Among the principal suffixes in the Uru language are the following:

- ai; in names of male relatives, etc. (*apai*, fathers; *suhuai*, son; *chichulai*, brother, etc.)
- chi; in certain names of female relatives, etc. (*achichi*, grandmother; *machi*, daughter; *ushakpishi*, girl).
- ni; in certain adjectives (*chakni*, green; *chikni*, old).
- si; a frequent termination in nouns (*coasi*, water; *muksi*, cigar; *chacsi*, coca; *lucsi*, spoon; *lucsi*, stomach; *potsi*, axe; *chequisi*, lasso; *chici*, moon; *masi*, stone; *pacsi*, bridge).

Among the suffixes of the infinitives are: -ai, -ana, -ani, -ara, -chi, -i, -ini, -k, -n, -quí, -si, -u, -ui, etc. There is a negative or privative particle *ana-*, used as a prefix (e.g. *ana-chuni*, "ugly," i.e. "not beautiful.") This particle is also used some times with nouns (e.g. *ana-karchichi*, handless.) Incorporation (or at least collocation) of the pronoun in the verb occurs, as, e.g. *lulicunkipec*, "dost thou desire to eat"? This word is derived from *luli*, "to eat"; *cun*, "thou"; and *kipec*, "to desire." The Uru language belongs to the class of American tongues which do not possess grammatical

¹⁵ Polo, in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, 10, 1901, pp. 445-482, from which Chamberlain's, and the present sketch, have largely been taken. Métraux' excellent work is predominantly on the Chipaya of Carangas; Raoul de la Grasserie's "Puquinan" is not undisputedly identifiable with Uru; and Alonzo de Barcena's *Lexica et Precepta in Quinque Indorum Linguis* (Lima ?1590), which is said to have contained a sketch of the language, is not known to exist in even a single copy.

322 difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from
311 sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

411 Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*piri*) and *bolas* (*ikuni*), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

534 Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in
[191] use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peks* (Aymará *pusipia*, lit. "four holes"), the *gena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'oa*). The reeds of which these are made are not *tatora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the *yungas*. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *pusipia* or *peks* and the *gena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical
[196] instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position
[533] on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

433 Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *tatora*-mats (or *kesana*, for carpets in "cholo" huts).
[337] These are exchanged for *ñuñu*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

462 The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *tatora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*kesana* and *kawara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The
[517] chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

114 Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization
614 of the Uru is that of Métraux:

The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: They are, *Titicana*, *Wónko*, *Kama*, *Kuipa*.

Religion. Nothing remains of Uru religion which is identifiably non-Aymára. In a swamp north of the village of Ancoaqui I noted an offering to some power or other, which consisted of three bowls, one over the other, in the reeds. Like the Aymára, the Uru believe in the interpreted significance of dreams.²⁹ The three- or four-stepped adobe pyramids in Ancoaqui I am unable to place as either an Hispanicism or an ancient survival; Posnansky would accept them as evidence of Arawakan affinities of the Uru. There are four or five of these at Ancoaqui. One has a cross atop it: the *cura* from Guaqui makes rare visits to the town.

According to Posnansky, the Uru have the following gods: *Tuintatito* (= Aymara *Tunupa?*, = a sun-god?), *Kjotsamptñi* (a god of the Lake from Aymara *q'ota*, "lake"), *Tukun-wawa-samptñi* (the goddess of the Lake), *Pačani-samptñi-malku* (god of fishes, from Aymara *malku*, "lord, master, chief"), *Čep-kalwari-čiči* (god of potatoes), *Kjoni-samptñi* (god of the earth) and *Samptñi-malku* ("god of the ancestors"). The willingness of this author to indulge in pure fantasy, however, leads us to be cautious even about such an etymologically plausible list. Métraux says that "Tout ce qui, dans ce mémoire [of Posnansky] concerne la religion actuelle des Uru est du domaine de la fantaisie," and avers that the chief deity of the Uru is *Pachamama*, an earth goddess of the Aymára. Near the door of every hut is a spot of blood, souvenir of the sacrifice made to the spirit of the place when the house is roofed; potatoes, alcohol, and *coca* are offered to the gods and *Pachamama*.

Mythology. The Uru appear to have preserved a few of their own traditions and myths. One of these,³⁰ however, appears to check with an ancient folk-tale preserved by Betanzos:

²⁹ The Uru of Ancoaqui, quite surprisingly, believe in the superstition of "three-on-a-match." This is said to be only as old as the Crimean War, when cigarettes first began to be popular: a match lit long enough to light three cigarettes gave enemy marksmen an opportunity to shoot the smokers, hence the "bad luck" of lighting three cigarettes on one match. If this is the true explanation, it is amazing how the practice came so quickly to the isolated Uru. However, in a world increasingly integrated, the discovery of South Africa copper reserves and subsequent fall of the price of copper on the New York Stock Exchange intimately affects the religious life of the Uru of the Desaguadero swamps; for when the great American copper mines in Bolivia (American Smelting at Corocoro, subsidiary of the Guggenheim interests) shut down, the Aymára miners cannot buy Uru fish, and the Uru cannot then buy quinoa and *coca*. And *coca* is an indispensable ritual substance in nearly all Uru ceremonies.

³⁰ Posnansky, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85. Métraux (JSAP 27, p. 88) gives a version of the same Uru tale, of which he got a more complete example from the Chipaya: "Formerly there was a cataclysm which annihilated all humanity, with the exception of the Uru. This is why they speak a language different from that of other Indians. Tiahuanacu and its temple existed before the sun was created. They had been built by the Inca. When the sun appeared in the sky, the temple and Tiahuanacu fell down."

373 We the Kjotsuñi [q'otsoñi, from Aymará q'ota, "lake", and Uru soñi, "men
539 people"]¹ are the oldest on this earth. A long time we were here, before when the sun was hidden.

Here where you see the suñi, in the time of our *Achichis* [ancestors], everywhere there was water with many fish; many rivers rose and flowed. Then our nation was large and happy.

Before the Sun hid himself for a long time we were in this place. Then the Kollas [Aymára] came, despoiling us of our lands; they used our bodies for *Kjuchos* [kucho, human sacrifice] when they laid the foundations of their temples.

When the Lake dried up we came out in search of food and thus encountered the Aymára.

Before *Çamak-paça* [Aymará, "time or epoch of darkness"] Tiahuanacu was built.

We have built our houses where our ancestors lived. The broken pots of many colors, and *topos* [copper pins] you find when plowing the ground, belong to them.

539 Métraux recorded in Quechua at Oruro a myth which tells of the trick-
ing of the armadillo by the fox, who misled him concerning a fiesta; hence
[97] (say the Uru) the mantle of the armadillo is uneven on his neck and shoul-
ders. Most of the Uru-Chipaya tales were learned from the Aymára.

83 *Miscellaneous Ethnographic Notes.* Small children own property which
49 cannot be sold without their consent; when a little girl refused to sell me a
small cloth, in spite of my offering what must have appeared a fabulous
sum, that was the end of it.

609 In greeting a white man on the road, the Uru, like the Aymára address
596 him as *Wiracocha*, "sir," or *karai* "mister."

821 The Pleiades are called *kerkeru*, Venus *Çauk-kola* ("big-?"), the Milky
Way *Çatu-liksai* (from *liks* "road"?) and another constellation *tsoxotsoxa*;
a comet is called *meñala* (from the Aymará).

• [114] ¹ Not, as Posnansky supposes, from the Aymará *suñi*, "puna." The meaning "men" is again obvious from the reference in the second paragraph. Further, the phoneme *s* is lacking in Aymará.